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CHAPTER XXIII

WARFARE, CANNIBALISM AND HUMAN SACRIFICE

WARFARE AS A KINSHIP PROBLEM

THE subject of warfare in the Western Pacific has been ably dealt with by Miss Wedgwood in an article on "Some Aspects of Warfare in Melanesia," published in *Oceania*, vol. 1, no. 1, which she sums up with the statement that "war serves the double purpose of enabling a people to give expression to anger caused by a disturbance of the internal harmony, and of strengthening or reaffirming the ties which hold them together." In this chapter I propose to amplify this statement by examining the motives leading to warfare in the Small Islands and the nature of the "internal harmony" which it is thereby sought to maintain, and finally the means whereby it is achieved.

In the first place, it is worth noting that, during the period of about 350 years covered by orally transmitted history on Vao, there is no record whatever, apart from the recent massacres due directly to the introduction of muskets which will be specially dealt with below,[1] of anything in the nature of wars of conquest.

In the Small Islands and adjacent Malekulan coast, wars (called *vaghal* on Vao, *wahal* on Atchin) [2] are, on the contrary, and have been so far as traditional records go, fought almost entirely on questions involving the prestige of one group over against another, in order to maintain the existing order of society by wreaking vengeance on any who seek to disturb it. Now the order of society is based on kinship, and kinship in turn is based on regulations concerning the relations between the sexes. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the immediate cause of almost all wars is a sexual one, such as adultery or the elopement of a married woman with a man belonging to a village or clan differing from that of the husband. A rarer type of immediate causation is theft, particularly of pigs, but as theft of this nature is almost always due to disputes over such matters as the return of bride-price to a husband whose wife has run away, this also is ultimately a kinship problem.[3]

I have said that wars are waged chiefly in order to maintain the

[1] See pp. 602 ff.

[2] Mota *vaghalo*, Seniang *vaal*.

[3] Sorcery, such a fruitful source of warfare in other parts of Malekula, is very rarely so in the Small Islands.

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existing order of kinship. This sometimes leads, however, to apparently contradictory results. Owing to the constant mixture of peoples that has taken place in the past and that is still taking place, and since no two peoples in the New Hebrides have precisely the same kinship regulations, the moment any two such cultures overlap, it is inevitable, and indeed part of the process of kinship evolution, that such overlapping must of its very nature cause infractions of the accepted kinship code of both peoples concerned.

Such is at present actually the case on Atchin, where formerly it was considered perfectly natural and fitting that, when a man died, his son's son should take over his young wife, in other words that a man should marry his deceased father's father's wife. This practice is still followed on Vao, but on Atchin, owing to new influences penetrating from the south, it is now disapproved of, and, if it is attempted, leads to war. I have recorded several instances of this that will be given in a future volume.

Disputes on this particular point do not occur on Vao, but I have already produced evidence to show that the wars following the foundation of Pete-hul by Na-va-gharu-kalat some nine generations ago were precisely of this nature, though on a much greater scale, owing to the clash of two different kinship systems.[1] In this case the clash appears to have been due to an actual migration of peoples. According to the historical accounts given by the natives, it took three generations of adjustment accompanied by inevitable fighting before the new system emerged. This conflict, launched by Na-va-gharu-kalat's speech commanding his clansmen that if any stranger came ashore at Kowu they were to kill him and bring him to Na-va-gharu-kalat to cut up,[2] included, of course, other elements besides those concerning kinship, which will be discussed in the section on cannibalism and human sacrifice. But, though cannibalism occupied an important rôle in native religious life, it is by no means essential to the social structure in the sense in which kinship is essential, and warfare continues today even where cannibalism is suppressed. There can then be no doubt that, of the two main causes leading to this fighting, that of kinship adjustment was incomparably the most important. It is moreover to be noted that this speech, and the events that followed it, are considered by the natives even today to constitute the origin of all fighting.

Tension between Complementary Opposites

Leaving the subject of cannibalism for the moment on one side, I propose, therefore, before giving accounts of actual fighting, to consider somewhat more precisely the implications of the kinship structure in so far as they affect the hostility always smouldering between the various

[1] See pp. 125, 163 ff.

[2] See p. 90.

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sections of Small Island society and liable at any time to be fanned into flame.

In doing this, it must be pointed out that it is necessary always to make a clear distinction between immediate causes of war and the more fundamental social antagonisms. As I have said, the immediate causes are, as a rule, adultery, elopement and theft. Such matters in our society might lead to individual vengeance or litigation, but would not involve whole communities. The reason for this is that our society is no longer founded on kinship, this factor having lost much of its weight owing to the size of the communities we live in and a large number of other factors. Among most primitive communities, however, kinship is sociologically of fundamental importance, extending its influence in the case of the Small Islands not only over all aspects of this life, but also over the next, since kinship considerations are the chief factor in determining the action of ghosts in relation to their living survivors.

Superior and Inferior Sides of all Islands Linked respectively to Form Hostile Moieties

In the Small Islands by far the most important aspect of kinship as regards its influence on warfare is the division of each island, both geographically and socially, into two Sides mutually dependent on one another but permanently hostile. This dual division has a much deeper psychological import than is at first sight apparent. In the first place, while the inhabitants of each island recognise their solidarity by having a common name,[1] thus showing their conscious attitude as members of a single community, the Sides of each Island are in most cases unnamed, indicating the deeply unconscious nature of the forces at work between them. In the second place, each Side of each Island has special relations with certain of the villages on the adjacent Malekulan mainland which make them natural allies in case of war, and in all my records of fighting between the Small Islanders and their mainland neighbours there is no case in which the whole of any one island has taken up arms together, but on the contrary each such war has been waged by the members of one Side of the Island only, without help from the other.[2]

Yet further, we have already seen how each island has a geographically smaller but socially "Superior" Side owning the best beach facing the mainland, and a geographically larger but socially "Inferior" Side facing the open sea.[3] What I have not previously pointed out, however,

[1] For example, *To Vao*, the people of Vao; *To Tsan*, the people of Atchin; *To Wala*, the people of Wala; and so on.

[2] Thus, in the account given on pp. 608-12 it is the Superior Side of Vao only, unassisted by the Inferior Side, that is engaged.

[3] See p. 55.

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Degrees of Hostility; Methods of Fighting; Weapons

If we return now to an examination of conditions prior to the arrival of the white man, we find the principle of self-preservation working in conjunction with the mutual hostility between the various moieties and sub-moieties well illustrated in the different methods of fighting and in the choice of weapons used. The chief weapons [1] used were the club, spear, bow and arrow, pitfalls made of sharp bamboo knives set crossing one another edgewise in pits covered with branches and leaves strewn over with earth, and poisoned human bone-tips (*wuh na ta-mat*) and nautilus shells with poisonous spines scattered at night along the paths. Slings, used in neighbouring islands as weapons, were not used in war by the Small Islanders, who made only miniature ones as toys for small boys.

I have already mentioned some of the causes leading to disputes, such as adultery or elopement, which, though sometimes settled amicably through the peaceable return of bride-price in the form of pigs, lead also on occasion to war if the returnable bride-price is not duly forthcoming. Other causes are insults of various kinds, which in turn bring forth counter-insults and in any case drag in their train recriminations based on disputes that may have smouldered for generations. Wars caused by the theft of pigs, so often referred to by white men, are rare, such thefts when they occur being, moreover, invariably but minor incidents in more fundamental disputes connected with complicated loan transactions or such matters as the non-return of bride-price just mentioned.

Disputes such as these may lead either to greater or to lesser wars, depending largely on the degree of kinship existing between the original disputants, and the same consideration determines the choice of weapons. The three relevant categories of kinship recognised throughout Melanesia hold also for the Small Islands. These are: [2]

(*a*) The members of a man's own clan, in this case the patrilocal village.

(*b*) The members of clans belonging to the same "tribe" or district, in this case the individual Small Island.

(*c*) The members of all groups outside the tribe, who are therefore actual or potential foes, in this case properly divisible into two sections, namely:

(i) the inhabitants of the remaining Small Islands and of the villages of the adjacent Malekulan mainland, with whom marriage relations exist, and all of whom therefore belong to one culture-complex;

[1] For detailed descriptions see Layard, 1, and S[illegible] pp. 205 ff. and Plates 50-61.
[2] See Wedgwood, 1, p. 8.

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(ii) those other parts of Malekula and of the more distant islands such as Santo, Malo, Oba, Raga and Ambrim, which the Small Islanders visit in the course of their canoe trade in pigs and other objects, but with whom they have no marriage connexions.

(*a*) DISPUTES BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE SAME CLAN

Thus, if a dispute arises between a man and his own lodge-brother belonging to the other "Side of the Lodge," every effort would be made to find a peaceful settlement, and if it came to blows, clubs only would be used.[1] The same may be said of quarrels between the members of two Quarters or two Sides of the Stone, with the exception that more persons would be involved, and spears also might on occasion be used.

(*b*) DISPUTES BETWEEN VILLAGES OR SIDES OF THE SAME ISLAND. FORMAL COMBAT ON SPECIAL FIGHTING-GROUNDS

The skirmishes described above were all in the nature of guerilla warfare on a very small scale. They were not noble conflicts at all, any trick being permissible, and clubbing or spearing from the back, or even when the enemy was quite unaware of being attacked, being more usual than face-to-face combat.

Quite different from these were conflicts between the two Sides of the same Island, or to a less extent between individual villages composing the two Sides. In both such cases the conflict took on a much more formal aspect, being fought out with clubs or spears at pre-arranged times on special fighting-grounds. Each pair of adjacent villages had a recognised fighting-ground at some spot where their respective territories joined. If there was an already clear space between them, such as a beach, this would be used. One such was the central portion of the beach Kowu, each end of which belongs respectively to the two villages of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu, and where formal combats between the inhabitants of the two villages took place. If no natural open space existed, a widening

[1] Godefroy (1, 1934, p. 53) relates how, in case of unwitting murder, "a pig is substituted for the murderer. According to ancient custom, the murderer was seized by the arm, then dragged to the dancing-ground, and there struck lightly with a wooden pig-killer as if he were a sacrificial pig. Having thus been 'sacrificed,' he takes a title of shame; he becomes '*Malolo*,' and is thenceforth forbidden from taking part in any social or religious act. Till death he will remain '*Malolo*,' the sacrificed one."

There are, however, cases, particularly when a serious dispute occurs within the framework of the biological family unit, when other solutions are found. Thus my informant Ma-taru's elder brother Are (see Table X) had a quarrel with his father Ter-ter-mal, and, "in order to spite him," committed suicide by breaking off a part of the shaft of a human-bone-tipped poison-arrow, so as to make it short enough, and shooting himself with it in the calf of the leg.

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in the path between the two villages would be the usual place for the opposing forces to meet and fight it out.

By far the most important combats, however, were those taking place between the two Sides of the Island. For these not only had a special fighting-ground at the junction of their respective territories on the beach called Le-siwar, but this beach was also furnished with a stone fort, where it was the custom of the defenders to await attack. This fort, called *titimbe*, consisted of a single surrounding stone wall, but is unfortunately no longer extant, the Roman Catholic Mission having been established, ironically enough, on the site.

Special fighting-grounds of this type are reported by Deacon from South-West Bay (between the districts of Mewun and Seniang),[1] and from other parts of Melanesia.[2] The only stone forts I know of, however, are those reported by Codrington from Ysabel in the Solomon Islands, built on a rocky knoll in the midst of the village for protection against head-hunters.[3] So far as I know, therefore, the Vao fort is the only one recorded in Melanesia as being specially built for formal combat.

Brief Summary of a Formal Combat on Atchin

Apart from a brief reference given on p. 606, I have unfortunately no full accounts of such formal fighting on Vao, no battles of this nature having taken place for some time owing to the Government ban on warfare, which, while still being carried on safely on the mainland, can no longer be prosecuted on a Small Island with a resident missionary. I did, however, witness one such pitched battle in modified form on Atchin, which will be described in detail in a future volume, but of which I will here give a few salient points to illustrate the type of action.

The immediate cause of the trouble occurred during an all-night dance connected with initiation, when the torch carried by one of the hosts was knocked by a third party, also a host, in such a way that the sparks fell in a shower on to the head of the torch-bearer's wife's brother, an important guest from the other Side of the Island. The guest raised his arm to brush off the sparks, but, as this action caused the club he was carrying to be raised also, the torch-bearer thought he was about to strike, and, to save himself, thrust his torch into the guest's face, narrowly missing his eyes. Uproar ensued, clubs were raised, spears brandished and stones thrown. Meanwhile the alarm signal was sounded on the gongs, and at the sight of reinforcements for the hosts the guests made their escape into the neighbouring bush. From here they continued to hurl imprecations at the hosts, some of whom heartily replied, while others, old men, did their utmost to restrain the blood lust of both sides. Finally,

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 223.
[2] Codrington, 3, p. 302.
[3] Wedgwood, 1, pp. 9 and 16 ff.

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the guests retired to their homes, having arranged that there should be a pitched battle the next day. During the interval messengers went to and fro trying to persuade the injured parties to come to terms by means of compensation by payment of pigs. These negotiations were showing some signs of bearing fruit when word came that one of the combatants on the guests' side had been severely injured by a stone. This put a stop to any thought of further negotiation. Blood had been spilled, and must be avenged. Next day the pitched battle occurred. As the occasion was one of avenging insult rather than murder, and neither side really wanted to weaken the other, but only to assert its prestige, it was agreed that though spears were permissible in such a conflict these should not this time be used, but only clubs and stones. The clubs so used were not the carved ceremonial clubs used largely for show and always taken to dances, but simple staves about six feet long. The home-party awaited the attack, partly sheltered behind a stone-and-reed wall forming part of a house-enclosure. The attackers, having first skirmished for hours in the bush, finally came to the edge of the clearing. For more than an hour representatives of either side alternately stepped out slightly in advance of their respective parties to harangue the enemy, moving their bodies violently to and fro as they hurled insults at one another, combined with a recitation of present grievances and a repetition of the intricate minutiae of generation-long ancestral disputes. Meanwhile, the opposing sides would send off an occasional volley of stones—small coral blocks, anything from three to four inches broad, stacked on each side ready for the occasion. At times the harangues were so enthralling that the parties would cease even these hostile acts and would advance to listen spell-bound, till some new taunt would set them shouting counter-accusations, and the stone-throwing would be resumed.[1]

At last these Homeric dialogues ceased, and both sides prepared for personal combat. Members of the home-village, now armed with long fighting-staves, awaited the attack, those in front ranging themselves in an orderly line supported by willing seconders behind. Then the attackers, similarly armed and with their front line equal in strength to that of the defenders, advanced, not with a rush, but slowly, prancing backwards and forwards on springy legs, each time approaching a little nearer, and ceaselessly hurling fresh imprecations. The defenders stood their ground, each raising one foot quickly after the other in tense expectation.

I will not waste space here in giving details of the ensuing battle, involving personalities not relevant to the present volume. It is enough to say that the attackers were repulsed. Luckily no one was killed, so that for the moment pent-up feelings had received their required temporary outlet without giving rise to a new blood-feud that would have

[1] For examples of similar speeches or "scolding matches" before battle from New Ireland and Tanna, see Wedgwood, 1, pp. 15-16.

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726 had the effect, among other things, of seriously interfering with the initiation rites on which the home-village was engaged and which had, through the incident of the torch, given rise to the dispute. Next day a truce was called, and the initiation rites proceeded on their prescribed course. The very enemies who had but yesterday been intent on wreaking vengeance on the home-village came, armed it is true, to perform their allotted parts in the rites, joining in further all-night dances and going about their business as if nothing had happened. Nevertheless the age-long opposition between the two Sides of the Island, of which this affray had been but an incident, continued, and will continue till such time as the whole Small Island civilisation crumbles or is replaced by some new form of co-operative competition with a new orientation more fitting to the changed conditions now being forced on this once self-sufficient people.

(*c*) (i) DISPUTES WITH OTHER SMALL ISLANDS OR VILLAGES ON THE ADJACENT MALEKULAN MAINLAND. AMBUSH AND SURPRISE

Two facts sharply distinguish warfare waged against the inhabitants of other Small Islands and of the adjacent Malekulan mainland from that waged on the Small Island itself.

In the first place, no special fighting-grounds are recognised, nor are there any rules such as characterise fighting between the two Sides of the Island. On the contrary, the methods used are those of ambush and surprise.

In the second place, there are no restrictions whatever on what type of weapon may be used. Thus, while spears (*na-hare*) may be used on the Small Islands, I have no record of the use there of those specially dangerous spears tipped with human bone and for this reason called *here ta-mat*, a touch from which is said to cause tetanus and an agonising death. These are, however, the chief weapons when fighting on the mainland, either with mainland villages or with the inhabitants of other Small Islands (wars between communities on different islands being fought always on the mainland, since attack by sea is out of the question). So also bows and arrows, whether poisoned or not, are never, so far as I know, used on the Small Islands, but only when fighting on the mainland. In the same way, man-traps and poisonous spined shells laid in the path are used only against a foreign foe. Enemy homes are burnt also whenever possible.

LEX TALIONIS: EQUALISING THE NUMBER OF DEAD ON BOTH SIDES

721 Despite differences in technique, and in what is regarded as honourable in the conduct of warlike disputes in the three categories so far enumerated, one principle is common to all. This is the *lex talionis*, according to which no war, once started and once one death has occurred, can cease till the

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number of dead on both sides is equal. Thus, if, in revenge for a man murdered for adultery or whatever his offence may have been, the injured party succeed in killing one man of the murderer's clan (whether the murderer himself is a matter of no import), then honour is satisfied, and a peace may be concluded till some fresh fatal act sets the ball rolling again. This process of equalising out by revenging one death by another is called *simbaten*. Thus, if A has killed B, then the clansmen of B will attempt to avenge him by killing a clansman of A, and, if successful, the avenger will call out as he kills him "*Simbaten A*," meaning "Equivalent for the death of A." [1] The word appears to be related to *simbean*, meaning "anniversary," [2] both words including the concept of repetition.

If, however, in the affray the injured party kill two men of the other side, so that one party now has one dead and the other two, there can be no peace till the winning party has lost another man. This is the case whatever party may be the victor, whether that of the originally murdered man or his avengers. Subsequent affrays may equal out the number of dead, in which case peace may be restored. On the other hand, they may only increase the discrepancy between the number killed on either side, and thus lead inevitably to further conflict. This leads to several interesting results. In the first place, it is only the most injured party that has any desire to continue the war, wars of conquest being, as I have said, and as is clear from the above, out of the question. A second result is even more curious from our point of view. For, as will be seen, it is thus not the vanquished but the victors that henceforth go in terror of their lives. Moreover, among other warlike activities is the ravaging of the enemy's gardens, and it will be remembered that the Small Islanders are particularly vulnerable in this respect since their gardens are all on the mainland and therefore completely unprotected at night, unless their owners care to spend the night in the bush far from their island homes. Thus a prolonged war injures the victors, if they are Small Islanders, even more than the vanquished. The price paid for victory, both in empty stomachs and in taut nerves, is therefore sometimes so high that it is not the vanquished but the victors who must sue for peace. But the rule demanding an equal number of dead on both sides robs them of all power of obtaining it by any means known to more highly civilised communities. The only solution, therefore, is that they should themselves offer one of their number as victim to restore the balance demanded by the honour of both parties. So they seek out the least desirable member of their own clan, approach him from behind, seize him, truss him up like a pig, decorate him for sacrifice, and send him to the enemy, those who deliver him bearing a cycas leaf, emblem of peace. As a rule, the victim is sent, if possible, alive, and it is said that the enemy thus appeased force him to dig a pit for the fire in which he is to be roasted, and then sacrifice him

[1] See p. 611. [2] See p. 557.

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narrowest of paths leading through it. There is thus very little clear space either for spear-throwing or for shooting with bows and arrows. The natives are, moreover, notoriously bad shots. It thus happens often that months of spasmodic fighting go on without causing a single death, and the numbers killed in any one war seldom exceed two or three on either side. That was in the old days, for since the white man introduced muskets the case has become very different, as is shown below.[1]

(c) (ii) DISPUTES WITH COMMUNITIES OUTSIDE THE SMALL ISLANDS AND THE ADJACENT MALEKULAN MAINLAND

Lex talionis not applicable in attacks by "strangers."

The above description of *lex talionis* applies only to warfare waged within the cultural area formed by the Small Islands and the adjacent Malekulan mainland, whose inhabitants intermarry and form a cultural unit. Communities living outside this intermarrying area, whom the inhabitants of the Small Islands visit during the course of canoe voyages undertaken chiefly for the sake of trading in pigs, are regarded as foreigners to be treated with the utmost circumspection lest these strangers should perchance, for reasons best known to themselves, fall on them and attack them.[2] In case of such attack, there is no defence other than to fight a rearguard action and if possible to escape. No question of *lex talionis* arises, since the Small Islanders are too far from their home-lands to make any effective reply. Such battles, of which examples will be given in a later volume, were the only things in any way resembling fights of extermination known in the Small Islands before the white man's arrival.

Lodges enjoying diplomatic immunity in Oba and North Raga.

Nevertheless, relations were not entirely unregulated even there, for it must not be forgotten that the chief islands so visited were Oba (and formerly Maewo) and North Raga, which are regarded as the home of Ta-ghar, and on which special rites are performed in connexion with Initiation into Sex.[3] For this purpose a certain diplomatic immunity is provided through the existence of special Lodges built at certain spots on the shore for the sole use of visitors, in which they are supposed theoretically to be safe from attack. It must be remembered, also, that the inhabitants welcome the visitors for the sake of the pigs which they bring in exchange for other pigs and for the purpose of buying the red mats

[1] See p. 602.

[2] Compare Na-va-gharu-kalat's speech on Vao to the effect that any stranger coming ashore must be killed and brought to him to cut up (see pp. 90 and 167).

[3] See Chapter XX.

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ACCOUNTS OF ACTUAL FIGHTING

(1) Wars Taking Place during the "Classical" Period of Vao History resulting from the Challenge issued by Na-va-gharu-kalat

I will bring this section to a close by giving three accounts of actual warfare.

Of these, the first two are what are regarded by the natives as "classics" dealing with the last phases of the fighting that resulted from the challenge issued by Na-va-gharu-kalat at the foundation of Pete-hul.[1] I have pointed out that this fighting lasted for three generations, which appears, if my conclusions are correct, to have been the time taken for the new system of kinship to be evolved out of the clash between an older matrilineal system with the new overtly patrilineal system introduced by Na-va-gharu-kalat.[2] We have seen how the final act of this process, so far as the internal organisation of the Superior Side of the Island was concerned, was the secession of Tulul from the parent-village of Pete-hul in order to found the offshoot-village of Togh-vanu. The two "classical" accounts about to be related refer to this period, the first dealing with the members of Tulul's own generation and that of his classificatory fathers, and the second with these two generations and that of his classificatory sons.

(a) Asaor is forced to "sacrifice" his sister's son

The first deals, like a Greek tragedy, with a social problem always of great moment, but at that time specially so, namely the clash of loyalties between a man's allegiance on the one hand to his matrilineal, and on the other to his patrilineal, kin. The situation is that arising between a man and his sister's son who, under a matrilineal system, are of one flesh, indissolubly united, but, on the introduction of a system of localised patrilineal descent, find themselves now belonging to rival clans. In this case the mother's brother belonged to Pete-hul on the Superior Side of the Island, but his sister had married a Peter-ihi man belonging to the Inferior Side, so that the mother's brother and his sister's son now found themselves on opposite Sides of the Island. The situation became acute when, in a war waged between the two Sides, the latter accidentally killed his mother's brother's son, and the new order demanded revenge. The tale ends with the ultimate victory of the new order, though at what cost in mental conflict to the two chief protagonists will be seen in the account itself.

The chief character in the tale is a man named Asaor. Asaor was a

[1] See p. 90. [2] See p. 167.

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Pete-hul man, and when this village was attacked by Peter-ihi one of his sons (whose name was not given) fell a victim to an enemy arrow. He asked, "Who shot my son?" and they told him, "Your sister's son, Mulon-sung-ni-mal, shot him." Hearing this, he was sorely distressed, and said, "No. It cannot have been he. It must have been some other man." But they told him again, "It was indeed your sister's son." And he protested again and again, saying, "It must have been some other man." For he did not want to have to sacrifice his nephew, and kept on trying to make them tell him that it was another. But they persisted, and would give him no way out. So at last he said, "Very well. I've done my best to make you tell me that it was another man, but you keep on saying it was my sister's son. Well, then, it *was* my sister's son. Tell him to look out for himself, for I shall kill him."

When he heard this, Mulon-sung-ni-mal was afraid, and fled to Tevtu,[1] a village on a promontory on the East Malekulan coast some twelve miles to the south. And when Asaor heard that he was there, he sent word to him, saying, "I know you are at Tevtu. Come back to Vao and take what awaits you." Hearing this, Mulon-sung-ni-mal fled still further south, to a place called Rughbo, just north of Pangkumu. And Asaor heard that he was there, and sent word again, saying, "I know you are at Rughbo. Come back to Vao." But Mulon-sung-ni-mal remained, and lived on there till he was an old man, a *mer-sean*,[2] and his hair had turned white. But still Asaor kept on sending him taunting messages, and at last he could bear it no longer, and said, "He knows I'm here. I'm tired of these never-ending messages. I'm tired of life. I will go back to Vao and die there."

So Mulon-sung-ni-mal launched his canoe and returned to Tevtu, and they greeted him, and said, "So you've come back at last?" He said, "Yes, I've come back." But he did not stay there. That night he launched his canoe and paddled and paddled till he landed on Vao, at Lirov, the beach belonging to his own village of Peter-ihi. Next morning he took his canoe and paddled over to the mainland and went up to the village of Tuntur, to visit his sister who was married there. And his sister's husband (*tahun*) took pity on him, knowing that he was come back to his death, and said to himself, "He's going to die. Let us give him as good a time as we can while we still have him." So he sent his wife to dig a specially festive kind of yam called *bihure*. And when she came back she made a pudding, and he ate some. But Mulon-sung-ni-mal could not eat it all, so they said, "Never mind, we'll put the pudding back into the oven, and you can come back tomorrow and eat it."

So he went back to Vao. Next morning, when he got up, he said, "Oh, I'm sick of this waiting. I shall go down to Le-siwar (the beach

[1] The Atchin pronunciation of this (see Maps I and II) is Tautu.
[2] See p. 529.

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where the two Sides of the Island meet in formal combat) and let them kill me there."

So, accompanied by the manhood of Peter-ihi, he went down to Le-siwar, and together they approached the circular fort (*titimbe*), consisting of a single surrounding stone wall, where it was the custom for defenders to await the advance of their attackers. They were ready to defend him, but he wanted to be killed, and begged them to let him be, and to let the men of Pete-hul come and do their fell work without opposition. So he went alone into the fort, and, seating himself on the ground, he drew his knees up before him, folded his arms around them, and bending his head between his arms, with shut eyes awaited his death. His club and his bow and arrows lay before him.

Asaor, knowing his sister's son had gone to the fort, but not that he was thus all alone, despatched ten men to kill him. When the first of the ten came into the fort and found an old white-haired man sitting there unarmed and unresisting, he could not bring himself to kill him. The second and third, and all until the last, were equally unable. The tenth, a man named Ma-taor (Asaor's classificatory son), said, "What is stopping you, that you don't kill him?" And he struck the old man on the head with his club, and killed him.

Then they dragged the body up to the dancing-ground at Pete-hul, and Asaor commanded them to place it on the great dolmen. Then he addressed the absent men of Peter-ihi saying, "I wished that it had been another man who killed my child, but you told me it was my sister's son. I said again and again it must have been another. But you insisted that it was my sister's son. Then I said that I would kill him." Then he took a wooden hatchet,[1] and having danced with it in his hand, he struck (*e tei*) his victim on the head, and took a new name. And the name he took was Le-hev-hev, the name of the Guardian Ghost. For the Guardian Ghost swallows her victims without scruple, as Asoar had been made to swallow his own inclination and dearest wish. Henceforth, having committed this crime against his own nature in the interests of the new order of society, he said, "I am Le-hev-hev. I don't care what I do any more, and I shall do what I like." No other man, it is said, has ever dared take this name, for, though others have since been forced to sacrifice their sisters' sons, none has ever pursued this dread duty with such perseverance as he.

Facts to Note in the above Story

In the high tragedy of this tale, in which Asaor is forced to outrage all personal feeling and at the same time the main principle of the old

[1] This wooden hatchet, given to me by his descendant Pelur, and now in the Cambridge Museum, is figured in Plate XXIV and Fig. 59. It appears to be called *tale*, the same word as is used for a shell adze.

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matrilineal order in obedience to the new principle of overt patrilineal descent, the chief points of interest are:

(i) Sociological

(*a*) That Asaor and his sister's son belonged to opposite Sides of the Island, thus typifying the revolutionary change brought about by the introduction of patrilineal descent which turned a man's nearest blood-relative according to the old matrilineal system into a traditional foe.

(*b*) The operation of *lex talionis*, which, after a lifelong feud, ended in restoring the balance between the two Sides of the Island, as set out below:

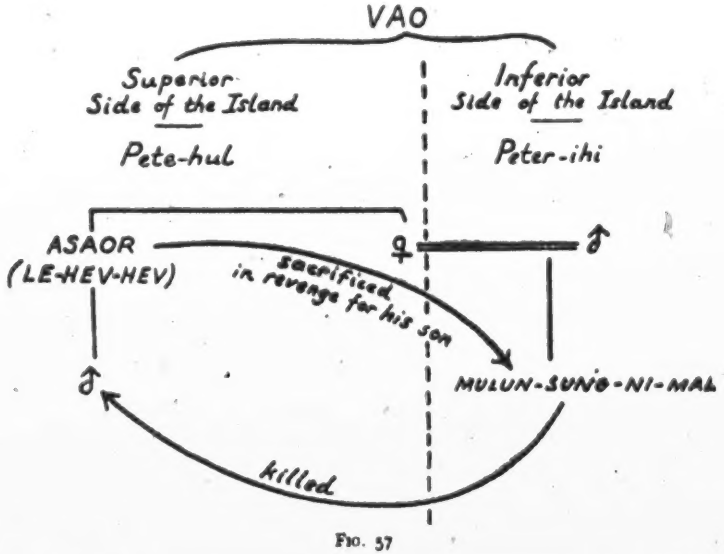

FIG. 57

(*c*) The ten men Asaor sent to perform the bloody task. The number ten is, as we have seen in the case of the ten Maki shrines and the ten divisions of society on Atchin, an introduced number associated with the newer patrilineal culture.[1] In the sending of the ten men to slay his sister's son we may see, therefore, another symbolic representation of the victory of the new patrilineal order over the old matrilineal system.

(ii) Ritual

The fact that the body of the victim is taken on to the great dolmen and there ritually "sacrificed," the sacrificer thereby taking a new name

[1] See p. 180.

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and so becoming ritually re-born. This rite, and the ideas underlying it, will be discussed below in the section on "Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice." [1]

(iii) Personal

The feeling of inexorable fate in which the two chief protagonists in the drama are caught up. Lest these should be regarded as isolated phenomena, it is worth quoting two similar cases reported by Harrisson from the district of Matanavat not many miles away on the north coast of Malekula.

(*a*) The first closely parallels Asaor's feeling that in performing this outrage on his sister's son he had, as we should say, "sold himself to the devil," and relates how a certain man, after sacrificing a bastard whom he had brought up as his own adopted son, took the title Mal-tanas, "Lord of the Underworld." The story is quoted in the footnote on p. 621 in the present volume.[2]

(*b*) The second is the case of a man named Malkar, who slew his father in the form of a snake, whereon his father's spirit spoke saying, "'You are a pig, so the Big Nambas tribesmen will eat you.' And from that day forth Malkar never went to the Big Nambas country. . . . But his heart would not be at peace. At last, after many months, he said, 'Well, I will go and be eaten.' And he went in a canoe from Wowo. The men of Ontowalo in the Big Nambas ate him. For which the men of Wowo who took him had to pay recompense to the chief of Matanavat for losing him. . . ." [3]

(*b*) WAR BETWEEN THE SUPERIOR SIDE OF VAO AND THE MAINLAND VILLAGE OF BOT-NAVI

The above account, while concerned primarily with the problem of the sister's son, at the same time gives a good picture of the equalising nature of warfare as carried on between the two Sides of Vao. The next, which includes several of the same characters, gives a similar picture of *lex talionis* as it applies to the relations between Vao and the neighbouring mainland. It is at the same time an interesting example of the lack of co-operation of the two Sides of the Island, in that the conflict is waged by one Side only, namely the Superior Side formed of the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, without assistance from the other.

[1] See p. 617.
[2] Elsewhere Harrisson (1, p. 110) states that Mal-tanas is taken as a title by all those in Matanavat who perform human sacrifice.
[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 60.

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How Val-vale, to avenge the death of his son Na-kin, sent Ma-merer to kill his wife's father. Ma-merer himself was killed, but the wife's father and another Bot-navi man were killed and "sacrificed" by Asaor and Val-vale to atone for the two Vao dead.

The men of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu went to Leuru, on the mainland, to fight the men of the mainland village of Bot-navi.[1] At the end of each day's fighting, when the opposing parties had withdrawn, the Pete-hul men were in the habit of quenching their thirst by drinking coconuts, skinning them always on the same stake,[2] which was a particularly good one. This was observed by one of the Bot-navi men, who one night concealed a poisoned human bone-tip in the ground where they placed their feet to do the skinning. The following evening, after the fighting, the Pete-hul men came as usual to skin coconuts, and one of their number, Na-kin, son of Val-vale, trod on the poisoned bone-tip. The poison took immediate effect, and he was carried back to Vao, and died.

His father Val-vale mourned (*taur*) for him, staying at home in a state of ceremonial fasting (*velval*), eating no yams, covering himself with white ashes and wearing a necklet with pendant pigs' tusks called *na-tal*. And the fighting continued, but, do what they could, they were unable to kill a Bot-navi man in revenge for Na-kin.

So Val-vale resolved upon a trick. Now Ma-merer, son of Asaor and classificatory brother of Tulul, was married to a Bot-navi woman. So Val-vale prepared a pudding and in it cooked a fowl, and invited Ma-merer to come and eat with him.[3] And as Ma-merer was scraping coconuts for cream to squeeze over the pudding, he noticed the protuberance made by the fowl in the pudding (even though the wrapping leaves had not yet been removed). So he asked, "What have you cooked in this pudding?" Val-vale answered, "A fowl." "You want me to eat a fowl with you?" said Ma-merer, "I see you wish to ask a service of me. What is it?" Val-vale said, "I want you to kill your wife's father, that I may end my fast and clean my body."

"Very well," said Ma-merer. But he was troubled, and, removing the coconut scrapings out of the wooden bowl (*narōv*), where they were, and wrapping them in an umbrella-palm leaf (*ropun*), he took these and the uneaten pudding and came to his brother Tulul and his father Asaor. And he told them, "Val-vale has cooked this fowl for me and wants me to kill my wife's father. What am I to do?" Then Asaor answered, "Well, here you are already come to Le-hev-hev. My name is Le-hev-

[1] Another version gives the name of this village as Peter-eve. It is possible that, as with Tolamp and Mal-weaweng, each name represents a moiety.

[2] Special stakes (*negos*), about 3 feet 6 inches high, are planted in the ground for this purpose.

[3] This is a common trick. If a guest eats a pudding with a fowl in it, whether wittingly or not, he is bound to accede to any request his host may make.

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hev,[1] the Guardian Ghost, who cares for no one. If you did not want to kill your father-in-law you should have left the pudding with Val-vale. But now you have come with it to Le-hev-hev, and you cannot go back. Now you will have to kill him." And all three ate the pudding with the fowl in it.

And when they had eaten the pudding, Ma-merer went to his wife, and acted deceitfully towards her, asking, "Has your father plenty of pigs?" She said, "Yes, he has many." "Well," he said, "I want to borrow one. You go and stay with him for a couple of days. In two days I and my brothers will come to the mainland. All you have to do is to arrange with your father that he shall come half-way down the road to meet us, and bring the pig with him."

Early on the appointed day, Ma-merer, Ma-taor[2] and all the men of Togh-vanu and Pete-hul went to the mainland, and concealed themselves in the bush about the meeting-place. And, true to her word, down the path came Ma-merer's wife with her father and a friend of his carrying the pig, a crescent-tusker. Only Ma-merer was visible, waiting for them in the pathway. But while he spoke with his wife's father his bowels revolted from killing him, and, as any man of the enemy village would do for revenging the death of Na-kin, he slew the bearer of the pig. Hearing the blow, and thinking the wife's father was dead, those in ambush rushed out. They did not see the dead man, but only the wife's father alive and fleeing. They gave chase, and soon he too was slain. But all did not go well with the attackers, for in the confusion of the moment Ma-taor, throwing his spear at the retreating enemy, struck Ma-merer himself, who fell, gravely but not mortally wounded. His lease of life, however, was not long. For, returning home quickly and by a devious route to escape the pursuit of the bushmen, the party had to descend one of the many precipitous outcrops of coral ranged in cliffs along the inland hills of Malekula.[3] Having lowered the wounded man by means of ropes to the bottom of the cliff, they threw down the bodies of their dead enemies whom they were carrying home to be "sacrificed" and eaten; but so carelessly that one of them fell on the prostrate form of Ma-merer, and killed him. So three men met their death in this affray. And the woman who had been used as a tool for decoying her father fled to her own village.

At last the marauding party, with their three victims (friend and foe alike being now called *ta-mat oamp*, "ghost of one slain in battle"), descended to the beach called Veturah, opposite the island of Vao. Here they danced and sang the cannibal song, and Val-vale, who was by now an old man, and had remained on Vao in accordance with the restrictions attendant on his mourning for his son, heard the song, and knew they had

[1] See p. 606.
[2] Famous already for the slaying of Mulon-sung-ni-mal (see p. 606).
[3] Remains of successive periods of land elevation (see p. 7).

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a victim. So he sent his classificatory son Na-mbal and said, "Go and see what they are singing for." So Na-mbal paddled over to Veturah, and they told him what had happened, and said, "We made a mistake, and killed one of our own men too." And they loaded the bodies on to their canoes and paddled over towards Vao.

But they were afraid of Asaor, for none dared tell him of the death of his son Ma-merer. So Na-mbal went on ahead, and when he was near the shore, instead of landing, he remained afloat, with the blade of his paddle in the sand to steady him. And those ashore perceived that something was amiss, and they asked him, and he told them what had happened. And Asoar, when he heard, said, "Bring them all ashore. Bring Ma-merer to Tagune (Asaor's beach),[1] and land the other two at Kowu. I will 'sacrifice' one, and Val-vale will 'sacrifice' the other." So Asaor "sacrificed" his son's father-in-law, saying, "*Simbaten Ma-merer*," "Equivalent for the death of Ma-merer,"[2] and Val-vale "sacrificed" the other, saying, "*Simbaten natuk*," "Equivalent for the death of my son [Na-kin]." So the dead were avenged, but Val-vale still had to pay pigs to Asaor, since it was in his service that Ma-merer had met his death.

I have recorded the words of the song sung in celebration of the double sacrifice. It runs:

REFRAIN (*ad lib*).

O ai ya gho ngo
O ai ya gho ngo
Banggo a i e

VERSE 1.

Val-vale pwetar-aso ghoro se tele o som,
Sele i mbar-mbar mboto-navi o,
ro tei na-vere mbe viamo.

REFRAIN (as above).

VERSE 2, as Verse 1, but substituting the name of Asaor for that of Val-vale.

The whole song is repeated twice, and at the end of each repetition the singers shout "*Hio, hio, ho!*" and go through the motion of striking the victim.

The word *pwetar-aso* in the first line is possibly the song-language pronunciation of Peter-eve, the alternative name for (or other moiety of) Bo'-navi, the name of which occurs in the second line. The first line includes a reference to the hatchet (*tele*) with which the victim is struck,

[1] The exact location of this beach is not marked on my map.

[2] It will be noted that Ma-merer was considered as having been slain by the enemy, although as a matter of fact his wound was due to the misguided spear-thrust of one of his own party, and his ultimate death to the inadvertence of his own clansmen in dropping one of the enemy corpses on to him during the journey home.

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and the last line includes the word *tei*, "to strike." More than this I am unable to translate, nor did I record the tune.

The following table summarises the information given in the above account respecting the equalising of deaths on either side and the subsequent "sacrifices" performed on the two enemy victims by the respective fathers of the two Vao men who were killed:

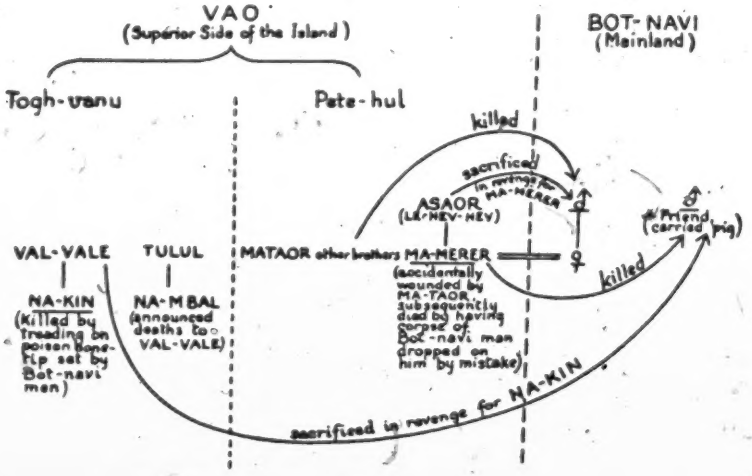

FIG. 58

This fight is said to have been the last of all those specifically occasioned by Na-va-gharu-kalat's challenge issued at the foundation of Pete-hul.

(2) Recent War with Muskets, ending in the Destruction of the Mainland Village of Tolamp

The two accounts given above both deal with the "classical" period of Vao history at the moment when, after three generations of fighting, the new social order was becoming stabilised. Since these events took place before the arrival of the white man and the introduction of muskets, with their disintegrating effect on native warfare, they both illustrate the operation of *lex talionis* with its attendant equalising of the number of dead on both sides.

The third account about to be given, dealing with the final disintegration of the mainland village of Tolamp, is of a very different nature. For the events here narrated belong to the disastrous period already mentioned when the Small Islanders, being the first to acquire firearms

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from the white man, used them without mercy against their mainland foes who, not being so armed, were unable to defend themselves, and so were, with few exceptions, wiped out, with the result that the once populous adjacent mainland is now nothing but a waste of jungle.

For this reason, though some attempt was made to equalise out the dead, it proved impossible to carry it out, and the Small Islanders, who also suffered heavy losses in fighting among themselves, won a barren victory which they now heartily regret. Nevertheless, the story illustrates many features of native warfare not included in the other accounts, and so is well worth recording, such as (*a*) the enmity between the Inferior Side of Atchin and the Superior Side of Vao, (*b*) the friendship between Tolamp and the Superior Side of Vao, (*c*) the use of disguises in fighting, and (*d*) the way in which one village after another gets dragged into a quarrel with which, but for the traditional enmity between the two moieties running through the whole culture-complex, they apparently in the first place had nothing whatever to do.

The events here narrated occurred two generations after the erection of the great monolith in the mainland village of Tolamp described on pp. 582-4, and took place some eighty-five years ago, or, as nearly as can be calculated, in about the year 1855. As is often the case, the immediate causation was a marital dispute, this time between a woman belonging to the Superior Side of Vao and her husband, who belonged to the Inferior Side of Atchin, as a result of which she left him and went to another man.

THE ACCOUNT

A Vao woman belonging by birth to the *Holovon* Quarter of Togh-vanu on the Superior Side of Vao was married to a man of the village of Senhar[1] on the Inferior Side of Atchin. One day in the course of a quarrel her husband swore at her, saying, "You are only a Malo woman," a term of reproach, since the men of Malo have no penis-wrappers, but wear instead a simple apron (*ghamb-ghamb*) such as is worn on Oba. The woman was deeply hurt, and ran away back to her own people at Togh-vanu on Vao, and told her brother what her husband had said. Her brother felt himself as deeply wounded as she, and told her not to go back to her Atchin husband, but sent her instead to be married to a man of Bakeloah, a mainland village not far from Rerav.

This was an insult to which the folk of the Inferior Side of Atchin could not submit, and they determined to fetch her back. Not knowing the secret paths, however, they deemed it too dangerous to attempt an expedition to Bakeloah alone. So a Rerav man called Sir-siri who lived

[1] The name of this village is pronounced Heneghar on Vao, but in accordance with my practice of calling villages by the names used by their inhabitants, I shall refer to it as Senhar.

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at the mainland village of Na-tsing-ware, bringing with him a disguise of a kind called *na-mat*,[1] came to Senhar and offered to show them the way. They accepted his offer, and paddled over with him to the mainland.

Arrived on the mainland, however, the Atchin men seem again to have become doubtful about the wisdom of risking their lives in the interior (or perhaps they feared treachery on the part of their guide). For the story goes that they said among themselves, "Why, this is a mainlander, and one will do as well as another. We won't bother to go to Bakeloah. We'll just kill this one." So they slew Sir-siri. And one leg they cut off and took with them to Atchin. The rest of the body they left on the mainland, and his own people of Na-tsing-ware came and took it. But they, apparently, wanted no war with Atchin, so they took the body and carried it to a special house in the bush called *ne-him romel* [2] close to Bakeloah, saying to the men of that place, "*Ta-mat ghami*," "This is *your* corpse," adding "You took that woman and offended the Atchin folk. This is your quarrel, not ours. You go and avenge him."

So the men of Bakeloah went down towards the coast and there fought with the men of Senhar, who were supported by the other villages on the Inferior Side of Atchin, including Emil Marur. And one man and two women of Emil Marur were killed. But when the people of Emil Marur wanted to retaliate, the men of Bakeloah, being evidently satisfied with their revenge, and anxious to avoid further trouble, said, "This is none of our quarrel. It is not our fault if that woman was sold to us. It is the fault of her brother, who sold her. She belongs to Togh-vanu, on Vao. You had better go and fight the men of Togh-vanu, not us."

So the men of the Inferior Side of Atchin said, "Very well, we will go and fight them." But Togh-vanu, being on the Superior Side of Vao, which is an island, cannot be easily surprised, so they fell upon the mainland village of Tolamp instead, with which Togh-vanu was closely related.

This occurred shortly after the death of Te-lugh-lugh, son of Laha-mbar-mbar who erected the giant monolith,[3] at a time when Te-lugh-lugh's son Ter-ter-mal (father of my now middle-aged informant Ma-taru) was but a boy not yet old enough to wear a bark-board belt. This boy

[1] This is clearly the same as the disguise called *limas* formerly used in South-West Malekula by a man when going into a district other than his own to kill an enemy. This was "a special kind of costume . . . which covered the wearer from head to foot. Over the head was put a mask of tree-fern wood, in which great slanting eyes had been cut; covering the upper part of the body in such a way as to leave the arms free was a waistcoat of . . . bark and hanging below this a skirt of banana leaves reaching nearly to the ground. In such a disguise a man could be fairly confident that when he had killed his foe, he would not be recognised" (Deacon, 4, p. 217). Deacon records in a note that the same kind of disguise is used in the Ranon district of Ambrim.

[2] I do not know the significance of this. *Ne-him* means "house," but the meaning of *romel* is obscure. The structure would appear to be some kind of Lodge or shrine.

[3] See p. 586.

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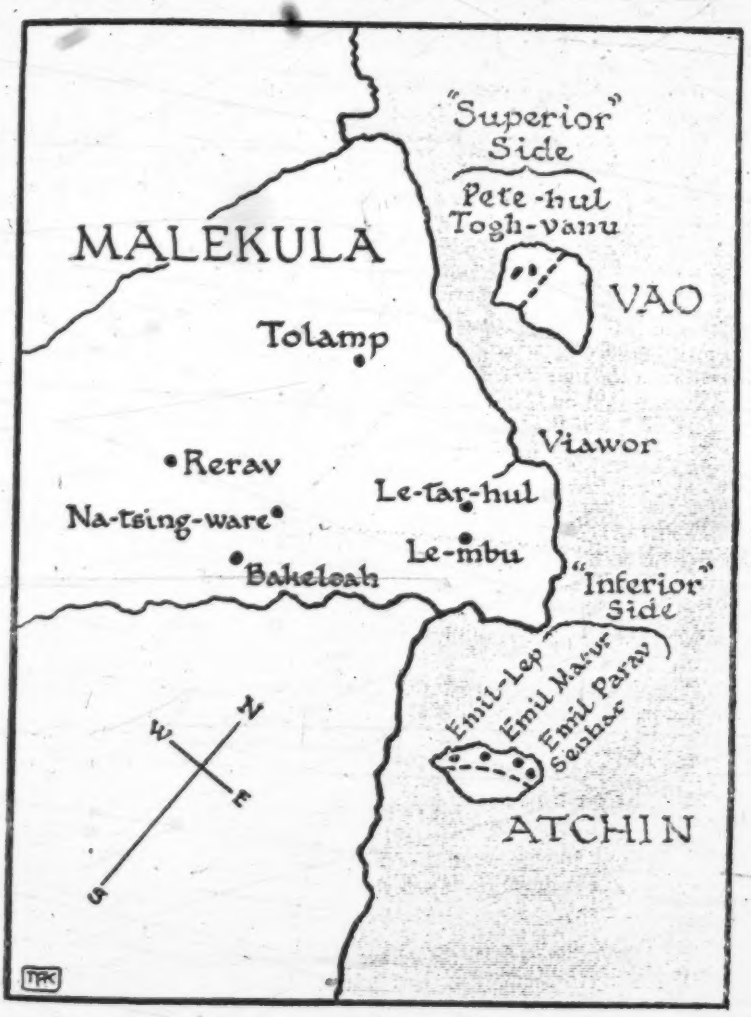
Ter-ter-mal happened to have climbed up a bread-fruit tree and was sitting in its branches when the men of Atchin burst upon the unsuspecting village of Tolamp. They killed two old men and a woman, mother of



MAP IX

Sketch-map to illustrate the fighting described on pages 613-17.

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Ve-lingi, who was speared through the breast. Ter-ter-mal prudently remained hidden in his tree till the attackers had withdrawn, when he climbed down and joined in the pursuit, but took very good care not to catch them up. That night the Atchin men slept at the village of Le-mbu on the mainland road between Vao and Atchin. But, to show that their grievance, in spite of its having been wreaked on the people of Tolamp, was really against the inhabitants of Togh-vanu, it was to the Togh-vanu people and to their friends on the Superior Side of Vao that they uttered the customary challenge "*Ta-mat ghami*," "The corpses are yours."

It was now the turn of the Togh-vanu men to take up the challenge and to avenge their friends. They, together with the men of the *Naru* Quarter of Pete-hul,[1] also belonging to the Superior Side of Vao, landed that evening on the mainland beach of Viawor and slept on the road at Le-tar-hal. Shortly before dawn they crept through the bush and surrounded the village where the men of the Inferior Side of Atchin were sleeping.

At peep of day, when the fowls came down from roost they cackled furiously at the sight of these strange figures on the ground. The men of Atchin heard it and, knowing what it meant, cried "*Nise, wahal ko?*" "What, is it war?" The Vao folk started up from their ambush, and singing a war song burst through the fences and over the stone walls, and fell upon those within, killing ten men and putting the rest to flight. Then they set fire to the houses.

Pelur,[2] of Togh-vanu, secured a body with plenty of fat on it and dragged it to his canoe. The others were left where they lay. Of the ten dead, three were set off against the three killed the previous day at Tolamp, and the Superior Side of Vao remained the victor by seven bodies. The corpse secured by Pelur was given to Tolamp.

Those lost to either side in this conflict, which took place entirely on the mainland, were, according to this account:

Inferior Side of Atchin	Mainland and Superior Side of Vao
(Wife of Senhar man ran home to Togh-vanu and subsequently remarried to Bakeloah man.)	Sir-siri (of Na-tsing-ware).
1 man and 2 women (killed by Bakeloah men).	2 old men and 1 woman (of Tolamp).
10 men (killed by men of Superior Side of Vao).	

[1] The members of the remaining three Pete-hul Quarters could not come because they were engaged in observing the anniversary communion feast called *hulhul'uan* (see p. 557) for a deceased clansman.

[2] My aged informant. See Table II, and Plates V and VII.

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In the early stages of this conflict the rule of *lex talionis* seems to have been carried out fairly successfully, and the numbers of dead on either side accord well with those killed in the traditional fighting of the "classical" period. Moreover, the only weapon mentioned in this fighting is the spear with which one of the Tolamp women was killed. It would therefore appear that this part of the fighting was fought without muskets. The ten Atchin men killed in the final battle were, however, out of all proportion to the number of those usually killed in the old days, and the unwonted slaughter was probably due to the possession of muskets by the Vao men before these weapons had reached Atchin.

It is, however, clear from my informant's comment on this account that the Atchin men soon found means of revenging themselves, for he states that in the fighting that followed the inhabitants of the mainland village of Tolamp were almost wiped out. As we have seen, the survivors later migrated to Vao, where they were given land to live on by their Togh-vanu kinsmen, in return for which the Togh-vanu people were given a large share of garden ground on the mainland formerly belonging to Tolamp.

CANNIBALISM AND HUMAN SACRIFICE

Cannibalism general, with few exceptions, throughout the whole group.

When the white man first came to the New Hebrides, cannibalism was practised almost all over the group, though there were certain exceptions. Thus, Codrington reports that there was no evidence for it in Maewo,[1] and that it was quite definitely not practised in the Banks and Torres Islands, though tales of Vampyres in those islands seem to indicate that it was once the custom there too.[2] A somewhat similar condition of affairs is reported by Tattevin from the district of Pornowol in South Raga, where cannibalism is not practised but man-killers assume the title *ias* in memory of certain mythical beings of this name who ate men.[3] Another curious pocket of natives who are not cannibals though all the surrounding natives are is reported by Harrisson from Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula.[4] These are, however, exceptions, and as a general rule cannibalism existed throughout the group.

It was, however, the first thing to be suppressed by what Government there was, with the result that the custom is confined now to East, Central and South-West Santo, the interior of Malekula, East Ambrim and South Raga.[5]

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 344.
[2] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 409. See also p. 17 in this volume.
[3] Ibid., 3, pp. 221-2.
[4] Harrisson, 2, p. 40.
[5] Speiser, 3, pp. 239, 449. Tattevin, however, says that the Pornowol in South Raga are no longer cannibals.